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well done and useful. But one reader at least was irked by the discursiveness of the essays, which savor, to him, more of the platform which the author adorned during the war (we remember him very kindly as a member of the British Mission) than of a scholarly book on political theory. Thus, in working up to Crucé's proposal for preserving peace, Sir Geoffrey quotes Crucé's advocacy of the resumption of Charlemagne's plan for knitting together the Rhine and Danube, and then adds:

The two seas were joined in time, but they had to wait two hundred and fifty years, and then the necessary work was not undertaken by a French King but by the most relentless of French enemies, after a peace disastrous to France and sown with the seed of future European wars; but it is interesting to find foreshadowed by Crucé a development of German canalisation, which within thirty years of the Peace of Frankfurt was to give Germany, and Prussia in particular, 8750 miles of canals, of which 5041 were main streams, 885 composed of channelled rivers and the rest canals proper dug in the fashion which Crucé had projected. (pp. 94-95).

Such commentaries seem out of place in a volume of scholarly essays, and we prefer the more restrained method, employed so well, for example, in Herbert Fisher's *Studies in History and Politics* (Oxford, 1920).

G. C. S.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Bände VII. und VIII. *Pius IV.*, 1559-1565; *Pius V.*, 1556-1572. (Freiburg-in-Breisgau: Herder and Company. 1920. Pp. xl, 706; xxxvi, 676.)

IT is reassuring so soon after the Great War to receive these two thick volumes. True, the author tells us that both were all but completed when the breaking out of the war made publication impossible. But he tells us also that throughout the war, despite its severing him from Rome, he could go on with the work, since already its materials had been gleaned from the archives. Great difficulties there were; but they did not prevent his practical completion of the pontificates of Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Paul V., and Gregory XV. Further volumes may therefore be expected soon; and these will carry us to 1623. No wonder that the author, though now past the middle of his sixties, can begin to count with confidence on bringing to its purposed goal the great work of his life.

When in 1886 its volumes began to appear, and when each surpassed its predecessor in the almost appalling conscientiousness of its research, it seemed unlikely that a lifetime could suffice. But the years soon demonstrated, too, the writer's remarkable capacity for work; and, though task after task has been laid on his competent shoulders, his history of the popes has gone steadily forward. Perhaps the war

itself may have lightened his interruptions; and the new poverty of his diminished country can hardly help lessening the activities of that great Austrian school of research at Rome of which since Sickel's retirement he has been the director. His success as a historian has found other recognition than added duties. The name, which on the title-page of his first volumes was identified by academic dignities, but soon stood proudly alone as Ludwig Pastor, was in his fifth volume, in 1909, ennobled into Ludwig von Pastor, and now appears with the added title of Freiherr; and a reward perhaps as welcome has been the acclaim of the world of scholars.

With these two volumes he reaches the climax of what he prefers to call the Catholic Reformation, and he makes no secret of his growing zest in the tale. That the first volume is the thicker, though it deals with the briefer pontificate, is only because it includes the story of those closing sessions of the Council of Trent which shaped all modern Catholicism. Pope Pius IV., indeed, is sketched as no unpleasing figure: of middle height and healthful color, with friendly, cheery face, high brow, and gray-blue, lively eyes, a slightly aquiline nose, his grizzled beard close trimmed, a chatty talker and a kindly, albeit an impatient, listener, careless of ceremony, restlessly active despite his sixty years, and wedded to the long walks in which he found his exercise, no theologian, but a good classicist, a sound canon lawyer, above all a sane administrator and a tactful diplomat. Nor does his historian question the genuineness of his loyalty to the Council and its work and to the reform of the Church. But he lays bare without flinching the irregularities of his earlier life, the easy-going worldliness of his personal habits, the nepotism which might have brought renewed disaster to the Church, had not the favorite nephew proved a saint. It is that nephew, Carlo Borromeo himself, who plays the leading rôle. Even on Pius V., who owed him his election, his influence is shown to have been great.

Pius V., however, holds the centre of the stage. As no predecessor except the German Hadrian, and perhaps the short-lived Marcellus, he is the joy of his historian. But the historian is not blinded by his sainthood. In an appendix on the biographers of Pius he protests against their hagiographic mawkishness. His own search for new evidence has been diligent and fruitful; and he does not fail to see how often the simple-hearted piety of Pius and his relentless rigor squared ill with actualities. But a pope whose character and purpose brought back, at least to Catholic Christendom, the papal leadership, inspires his narrative to almost epic swing, and sometimes swells it to a history of Europe. In Spain and the Netherlands, in France, Great Britain, Germany, he has, indeed, little but Pyrrhic victories to record; but against the Turk the pope's crusading ardor won a lasting triumph, and for Pius V. his usual order of treatment is abandoned to make Lepanto the climax of the volume.

Older readers, who owe their interest in these popes to the work by which Ranke, just half a century before Dr. Pastor took up his pen, established his reputation as a historian, or to that essay of Macaulay, suggested by it, which made the Protestant world sit up and ponder, will wish to know how what they then learned is shaken by this fresh research. To all earnest historical study it should be a reassurance that so little error is shown. True, the influence of Ranke upon Pastor, who from the outset rated him "the most important of all Germany's Protestant historians", has clearly not been slight; but this has meant no lack of readiness to correct his facts or criticize his views. What warranted and what distinguishes the work of Pastor is its access to the sources and the thoroughness with which it uses them. Where Ranke could but divine, touching only the high points in his sweep, Pastor establishes by solid proofs, or discredits by their absence. His reader has the rare satisfaction of feeling that he has in hand a definitive study. Even of the Council of Trent, Ranke believed that such a final history would never be undertaken, "since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done", while "those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means". It was with Leo XIII. that the church authorities rallied to that verdict of Pertz which Pastor makes the epigraph of his opening volume: "Die beste Vertheidigung der Päpste ist die Enthüllung ihres Seins." But even to their historian one rich body of records is still closed. The archives of the Inquisition he has besieged in vain; and without their aid a satisfactory study of the inquisitor pope might seem impossible. Happily, they too have suffered breach. Every scholar knows how their treasures were in part carried off to Paris by Napoleon, with the rest of the papal archives, and how after his fall they had to be returned, including the trial of Galileo. Fewer perhaps will remember how some of them, however, mysteriously made their way to Dublin, where they are still in the keeping of Trinity College, and have found partial publication at the hands of Gibbings and of Benrath. Now, a part of these belong precisely to the pontificates of Pius IV. and Pius V. Alas, it is to be feared that what is still unprinted could hardly, during the war, be at the service of a German scholar; but in these last years there have been other disclosures, and a decade ago Professor Pastor himself published from Roman libraries a precious gleaning.¹ Thus equipped, what he is able to tell us in the present volumes is at least of high interest; and no pages, perhaps, deserve a wider audience than those on the activities of Inquisition and of Index.

¹ It will interest students to know that the printed book which he counts almost a manuscript, finding even in the libraries of Rome only an imperfect copy, and falling back for the extracts he prints on a complete one, somehow in the hands of the Roman antiquary Bocca, is now on the shelves of Cornell University. This is the *De Inconstancia in Jure* of Cardinal Albizzi, secretly printed under a false imprint for the private use of the Inquisition, and only lent to its officials during their terms of service.

But, though his honesty, his frankness, are beyond all question, though he prefers in the main to quote verdicts from contemporaries without remark—he can even, without a comment, let the pope himself, in 1565, say to the cardinals that scarcely a tenth of all Christians are still Catholic—it must not be inferred that of his Catholic and Ultramontane sympathies there is ever doubt. And let no reader expect in his pages any attempt to understand or make intelligible the attitude of Lutheran or Anabaptist, of Calvinist or Anglican. All, he tells his readers, that these religious innovators agreed in was the utter repression and outrooting of the Catholic worship. And even less than for these fierce opponents has he an understanding heart for those who dream of mediation or of parity. Not Elizabeth alone or Catharine de' Medici to him are wholly self-seeking, unscrupulous, void of religion. Little, if at all, less conscienceless are William of Orange, Maximilian of Austria, even L'Hôpital. The Edict of January is to him the immediate cause of the French religious wars. But, such as they are, his volumes are of inestimable worth to men of every faith.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Wallensteins Ende: Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Katastrophe.

Auf Grund neuer Quellen untersucht und dargestellt von HEINRICH Ritter von SRBIK. (Vienna: L. W. Seidel und Sohn. 1920. Pp. xvi, 407. M. 60.)

WHILE not formally concerning himself with Wallenstein's character, activities, or guilt, it is repeatedly evident that the author considers him, in these last months, a dying man, hopelessly vacillating, but following one great ideal, for "nur die grosse Sehnsucht, sein Leben durch das Friedenswerk zu beschliessen, erfüllte den Mann"; and "nach seinem subjectiven Ermessen war nicht er dem Kaiser, sondern der Kaiser ihm, dem Reichsfürsten, zum tiefstem Danke und zur politischen Gefügigkeit verpflichtet".

The guiding thread is the question of responsibility for Wallenstein's death, with emphasis on Ferdinand. One result is a valuable history of the propaganda involved. The story, beginning abruptly in the middle of 1633, portrays Ferdinand and his motives, the elements opposed to Wallenstein "Die Glaubenseiferer konnten nichts anderes als Kreisfieber sein", and the swirling waves of denunciation, extreme, conscienceless, often baseless, slowly convincing the emperor. "Welches ungeheuerliche Lügengebäude hat Piccolomini aufgebaut". The attitude of the army is analyzed, "und da war es nun des Friedländers Verhängnis, dass Offizier und Mann nie das Band der verehrungsvollen Zuneigung, des warmen Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls mit ihm hatten knüpfen können". The bitter "Proskriptionspatent" of February 18 ensues, following the "Absetzungspatent" of January 24, and the order,